2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

among members of Class A. In the cult houses it is said that the African gods go back to Africa for Lent and that the Indian spirits go back to the forests, not coming back again to Vila Recôncavo until Easter Eve. Good Friday is usually marked by the eating of foods with much palm and olive oil, mostly the favorite Bahian dishes of acarajé and vatapá. On Saturday some people in the town "burn Judas." They make a figure stuffed with straw or grass and in the evening parade it through the whole town on a donkey until they arrive at the fishermen's chapel, where the dummy is strung up and burned. While it burns the man who made it reads a long poem which he has composed during the year and which tells about his friends and their individual peculiarities.

During the month of May a service is held each night in the mother church in honor of the Virgin Mary. A priest officiates, and the women of the upper class sing in the choir. This ceremony is attended almost entirely by townspeople, mostly women. St. John's Day, which comes at the end of June and is a popular holiday throughout most of Brazil, goes unnoticed in the town, although at dawn on that day there may be a reveille for St. John (alvorada de São João), which consists of shouting, "Wake up, St. John!" The sixteenth of August is celebrated, mostly by the rural people, as the day of St. Roch, who is considered a foe of pestilence. There is usually a Mass in the mother church on this day, after which the priest conducts Mass in as many of the rural chapels as he can. St. Roch is also celebrated by the African cults.

On September 27, the twin saints Cosme and Damião are celebrated, often with a Mass, but especially with a party called the carurú, the dish distinctive of this day and the days which follow it; for, as with the Day of Kings, Cosme and Damião may be feted any day within a month or so following the proper date. Before a carurú, it is customary for small images of the two saints to be carried about the streets from house to house asking for alms for a party in their honor. Usually the party is for the children, who dance and eat as much as they can, while the older people at first look on, and then finish up the food that was left and also dance. Anyone who is a twin or who likes twins may give a carurú in his house.

St. Francis is also feted, since there is a Franciscan convent in the town, by a devotion on three nights and a Mass on the morning of St. Francis' day. The last Sunday in October,

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
BRAZIL SLI

B
BB
175
567
668
793
BB
175
567
668
747

"slavery is extinct in all other countries of America to the shame of Brazil."

Beginning about 1862 a Bahian professor of mathematics, the mixed-blood, Dr. Francisco Alvares dos Santos, whose classes were said to be attended by two-thirds of the students of mathematics in the city, began carrying on abolition propaganda, and during the subsequent quarter of a century he each year gave a banquet to former students and invited as a special guest a slave whose liberty had been purchased on that day with funds supplied by a "patriotic battalion" composed of his students and organized in honor of the independence of Brazil. Out of his teaching arose the Sociedade Libertadora Dois de Julho, which freed several slaves.

BB
[204]

By 1875 the Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro, organized in 1869, had freed approximately five hundred slaves, and twenty-four numbers of a periodical, *O Abolicionista*, had been published. At a bazaar held by the Society in that year, Castro Alves, Bahia's "glorious poet of liberty," addressed a letter to Bahian women in behalf of the slaves, and Barão de Macahubas, resident at the imperial court, sent several gifts. The Society at that time numbered five hundred and twelve members, of whom fifteen were women.[83]

BB
•[538]

The Sociedade Humanitaria Abolicionista was organized in 1869, and the Sociedade Libertadora Bahiana in 1883.

[83] Among the more prominent members were: Frederico Marinho de Araujo, Victor Isaac de Araujo, Lourenço Gomes de Araujo e Silva, Abilio Cezar Borges, Conselheiro José Luiz de Almeida Couto, Dr. Francisco José da Rocha, Conselheiro Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas, Conselheiro Salustiano Ferreira Santo, Dr. Augusto Guimarães, Dr. Antonio Ferreira Garcez, Bellarmino Barretto, Julio Alves Guimarães, Constancio José dos Santos, Major Antonio de Souza Vieira, Dr. Frederico Augusto da Silva Lisboa, Conselheiro Carneiro da Rocha, and Major Antonio Ferreira de Barros.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

175
567
668

In 1872 Dr. Frederico Lisboa advocated in *O Horizonte* "the right of all men to natural liberty" and, in keeping with this sentiment, liberated several slaves which had been presented to him on the occasion of his marriage. Subsequently he bought and freed some thirty Negroes belonging to others. In nine months Bahian abolitionists secured the release of approximately two hundred slaves illegally imported after passage of the law of 1831.[84] To make less difficult the transition from a slave to a free status, the courts appointed lawyers as *curadores* ("guardians") of the freedmen.[85]

175
567
668
204
[538]

In 1880 Pamphilo da Santa Cruz founded a newspaper called *Gazeta da Tarde*, in whose first issue he stated a frankly abolitionist program. He was assisted in its publication by the journalist, Raymundo Bizarria, and by Conselheiro Luiz Alvares dos Santos, a professor at the Faculty of Medicine. In 1881, on the anniversary of the death of Castro Alves, "the immortal poet," author of the antislavery *Gonzaga* and *Poema dos escravos*, the public was invited through the columns of the *Diario da Bahia* "eloquently to affirm our irrevocable adhesion to the cause of abolition."

[84] For instance, Eduardo Carige demanded the liberation of an African woman whose owner, Antonio Alves Fernandes, had registered her in 1872 as forty years of age. Dr. Amphilophio Botelho Freire de Carvalho, "the first Bahian judge to comply with this law," whose decisions "were widely publicized and attracted the attention of the whole province," freed her on February 10, 1887. One irate master appealed from a decision of Botelho, charging that the judge was incompetent. The Superior Tribunal denied the appeal (see *Diario da Bahia* for March 15, 1887; Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 319–23).

[85] Among Bahian lawyers accepting this charge were: Dr. Affonso de Castro Rebello, Dr. Elpidio de Mesquita, Dr. Arthur de Mello e Mattos, Dr. Mauricio Francisco Ferreira da Silva, Dr. José Heraclides Ferreira, Dr. Francisco Moncorvo de Lima, Dr. Adolpho Carlos Sanches, Dr. Alexandre Galvão, Dr. Severino dos Santos Vieira, and Dr. Izaias Guedes de Mello. Dr. Raymundo Mendes Martins "rendered important services to the cause of the captives" as *curador geral* of orphans (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 324–26).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

At the ceremony Bahia's most famous citizen, the statesman, jurist, and orator, Ruy Barbosa, read from *Gonsaga:* "No more slaves! No more masters! Liberty to all hands, liberty to all heads," and himself added, "Abolition is an expression of the most inflexible of social necessities." Antonio Augusto de Mendonça, one of several Bahian poets then active in the antislavery cause, wrote and recited a poem dedicated to the Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro. In the following year the *Gazeta da Tarde* inaugurated a series of abolition lectures to be given in the Lyceu de Artes e Officios and invited as the first speaker the well-known abolition orator, José do Patrocinio.[86] In 1885 a pamphlet entitled *A incoherencia da escravidão n'um pais christão* was published in Bahia by Antonio Pereira de Araujo. When the news arrived (June 30, 1887) that the cabinet had secured the dissolution of "the pro-slave" *camara* a celebration was held at the offices of the *Diario da Bahia*, on the initiative of the *Libertadora Bahiana* and the *Gazeta da Tarde.*

In 1872 the province of Bahia freed the twenty-two slaves which it owned and had employed as gardeners, laundry women, and grave-diggers, either at the Hospital dos Lazaros or the cemetery of Quintas. In 1880 Joaquim Nabuco presented a project to the Pernambuco legislature calling for the extinction of slavery within ten years, and three years later he published a stirring abolition treatise entitled *O Abolicionismo.*[86a] In 1885, and again in 1887, he was elected federal deputy on an abolition platform. In 1881 the Bahian

[86] Other lectures were given by Dr. Aristides Spinola, Dr. José de Oliviera Campos, Paula Ney, Conselheiro Luiz Alvares dos Santos, Ennes de Sousa, Salles Barbosa, Elpidio de Mesquita, and Dr. Arthur Ferreira Vianna.

[86a] London, 1883.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

B
BB
175
177
19

In the speech of very young children the doubling of a tonic syllable became common. Hence, *nhônhô* replaced *menino; titio* and *titia* were used for *tio* and *tia; dodoe* for *doe; dindinho* for *padrinho; vôvô* for *avô*, etc. Proper names "lost their solemnity, dissolving in a delicious manner in the mouths of the slaves." Little Antonia came to call herself, and to be called by her parents and other relatives, "Dondon" or "Toinha" or "Totonha"; Thereza became "Teté"; Manoel became "Mané," "Mandú," or "Nezinho"; Francisco became "Chico," "Chiquinho," or "Chicó"; Pedro became "Pepé"; and Alberto became "Bebeto" or "Betinho."[119]

B
BB

In addition to the "hard and imperative" *diga-me, faça-me, espere-me*, of Portugal, another method of placing the pronoun came into use in Brazil. The slave and the lower classes developed *me-diga, me-faça, me-espere*, a manner of speaking which Ribeiro describes as of "great suavity and sweetness."[120] Freyre says "*faça-se* is the master speaking, the father, the patriarch; *me-dê* is the slave, the woman, the child."[121]

[567]
[565]
B
BB
175
•538

The Negroes in Brazil are said to have been assiduous story-tellers. Many free *pretas*, mostly older women, made their living by wandering from *engenho* to *engenho* recounting tales to the women slaves which eventually found their way, transmitted especially by the *mãe preta* and the *mucama*, into the ears of the master's children. Particularly common were stories of animals possessing human characteris-

[119] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 243.

[120] João Ribeiro, *A lingua nacional* (São Paulo, 1921), quoted in Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 246 n.

[121] *Casa grande e senzala*, p. 246.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

B
BB
175
538
[776]

tics, as similarly were tales of the tortoise.[132] Boisterous children were quieted with stories of the Kibungo, a terrifying creature, half-man, half-animal, with an enormous hole in the middle of its back which opened ominously when the creature lowered its head.[133] The Kibungo was especially fond, it is said, of visiting the houses in which naughty boys lived, announcing his presence with:

B
BB
[539]

> De quem é esta casa?
> auê
> como gérê, como gérê
> como érá.[134]

B
BB
17
325
233

Max Schmidt observed in Matto Grosso that many of the local practices connected with cattle-raising were of African origin, as similarly were the iron instruments in use there. Eschwege contends that ironworking was learned in Brazil from imported Africans.[135]

[132] See Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 282–83.

[133] *Ibid.*, pp. 301–3.

[134] Whose is this house?
auê
I eat *gérê*, I eat *gérê*
I eat *érá*.

[135] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, pp. 220–21. It is also probable that certain microbes were unwittingly brought to Brazil in the bodies of imported Africans. See Octavio de Freitas, *Doenças africanas no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1935).

[P. 108 is blank]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

B
BB
175
178
563 *
714
B
BB
175 *
563
567
178
[538]

Similarly, an army uniform, "especially the gold braid of an officer, Aryanized and 'aristocratized' many mulattoes into whites."[31]

The rise of the mixed-bloods was also facilitated by the conviction which, since at least the late eighteenth century, had been crystallizing in the minds of Brazilian intellectuals to the effect that the Negroes, whose strong arms and backs had long furnished the country's labor supply, were to a considerable extent the actual builders of Brazil. In prose and poetry not only the toil of the slave but also the creative energies of the free people of color came to be exalted.[32] This appreciation of the African contribution to Brazilian civilization increased with the progress of the abolition campaign. Especially were the *amas* extolled.[33] Much of the abolition sentiment had its sanction in the affectionate gratitude of young aristocrats whom they had reared.

The rise of the mulatto, as also that of the black, was further favored by the gradual, rather than catastrophic, character of the emancipation process which in Brazil released most of the lower stratum of society from servile status gradually and as individuals, under circumstances favorable to the continuance of those intimate personal ties so highly advantageous to a "new freeman." Moreover, final emancipation was not, as in our South, brought about as an incident of civil strife, and the normal relations which had

[31] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 318.

[32] See Borges dos Reis, "Colonos indigenas e escravos," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, XXVIII (1902), 61. Note also Alvarengo Peixoto's stanza:

> ". . . . homens de varias accidentes
> pardos, pretos, tintos e tostados
> . . . . os fortes braços feitos ao trabalho."

[33] Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 128.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

815
829

presiding in accordance with the varying subjects under consideration, were seated erudite *doutores* from lecture-room and laboratory; huge *filhas de santo*;[7] aged Negro cooks who brought from . . . . the crude kitchens of their mud huts recipes of . . . . Afro-Brazilian dishes; Negroes from the cane fields (like Jovino, whose paper was as full of errors in Portuguese as of *saudades* of the time of the *almanjarras*);[8] . . . . *babalorixás*[9] like Pae Anselmo; queens of the *maracatú*[10] like Albertina de Fleury, whose name reminded José Lins do Rego[11] of the heroine of a romance by Proust; certain others who, although illiterate or semiliterate, had such intimate knowledge of Afro-Brazilian matters as to be able to make an appreciable contribution to the Congress; students of law, engineering, and medicine . . . . ; elderly folklorists like Rodrigues de Carvalho, who never missed a session . . . . ; individuals like Nobrega da Cunha, who knew intimately the ritual of the *macumba*;[12] psychiatrists of the ability and reputation of Ulysses Pernambucano, who was acclaimed with all justice Honorary President; artists like Luis Jardim and Cicero Dias; intellectuals, journalists, and special representatives of Rio newspapers; the teacher, Ernani Braga, who collected for the Congress a number of invocations to Xangô[13] sung by the young ladies of the Conservatorio on the closing day of school to the enthusiastic applause of the best people of Recife. Individuals

[794]
[535]
[492]
[793]
[794]
[538]
[794]
[776]

[7] *Filhas de santo* are ceremonial dancers of the fetish cult (see chap. x).

[8] On the sugar plantations of colonial Brazil the beam to which animals were hitched to turn the millstone and crush the cane was called the *almanjarra*.

[9] Priests of the fetish cult are sometimes called *babalorixás*. The word is formed from the Nagô words *bábá* ("father") and *orixá* ("deity").

[10] The *maracatú* was an organization of Negroes which formerly participated in Carnival at Recife (see Mario Sette, *Maxambombas e maracatús* [São Paulo, n.d.], pp. 339–41).

[11] José Lins do Rego is a noted Brazilian novelist whose realistic accounts of lower-class life, particularly in the state of Pernambuco, have helped to reveal a level of culture about which little had previously been written. See, e.g., his *Banguê* (Rio, 1934); *Menino de engenho* (2d ed.; Rio, 1934); *Usina* (Rio, 1936); *Histórias da velha Totonia* (Rio, 1936); *Pureza* (Rio, 1937); *Pedra Bonita* (Rio, 1938); *Doidinho* (Rio, n.d.).

[12] The Afro-Brazilian fetish cult is known in Rio de Janeiro as the *macumba*.

[13] Xangô (pronounced "Shán-go") is a deity of the fetish cult (see chap. x).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

tice, now not so common as formerly but still occurring, of forsaking a dwelling-place in which some member of the family has died. "Visions" are commonly reported. A *preto* related:

> Once as I was working, I suddenly noticed an old friend, together with another man, standing by me, both of them "out of the flesh." My friend spoke and asked me how I was. I told him I was "so-so." Then he said, "Did you know that Fernando was dead?" I didn't, but, sure enough, I found out the next day that he had died that very morning.

One finds in many individuals an absolute credulity in folk tale and folk myth. Thus to many a Bahian of the lower classes the *lobishomem*, the *caipora*, the *mula de padre*, and the *bialáti* are actual entities which he himself, or someone known to him, has supposedly seen or heard.

The *lobishomem* (werewolf), credulity in which is also common to large areas of Europe, is said at Bahia to roam about on moonlight nights, preferably on Fridays, with dogs following him. He takes the form of a man, very pallid, with an enormous shock of hair and long fingernails. Coming up behind a traveler or sneaking into the house after a child, he grasps his victim and sucks his blood. A person "very yellow" from malaria is thought to be in danger of turning into a *lobishomem*. If a family has seven sons and no daughters, the first-born is believed liable to develop into one of these creatures unless he is made co-padre with his parents at the baptism of the seventh child. The hour of such transformation is midnight sharp. A house servant remarked:

> When I was a small boy, I knew a man who turned into a *lobishomem*. There in my country, near Joazeiro [state of Bahia]. He had killed his father and his mother. He always went around with his head down, very sad and very pale. The children called him *chicobicho* and ran and hid from him. Every Friday night he turned into a

5: Azevedo--31 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

/25/ Opinions about Colored People

829 *563 •538 The presence of so many colored people in their region has never constituted a preoccupation or a mark of inferiority for the people of Bahia. The authors of school manuals for primary and secondary education, the political men in their election campaigns, the preachers in their sermons, the journalists in the writing of editorials and news refer to the important contribution of the African slaves to the Brazilian economy and praise certain traits of theirs, natural kindness, good nature, resignation, with which they have enriched the psychology of the nation. In the folklore, in tourist propaganda, in the caricatures that accompany political criticisms, Bahia is generally represented as the Bahian mulattress wearing the characteristic costume of women affiliated with the candomblé. Even in the publications intended for the foreigner, the authorities never intentially reduce the high percentage of the descendants of Africans in the local population (1).

[113] 1. Cf. Impressoes do Brasil no século vinte /Impressions of Brazil in the Twentieth Century/, Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Co. Ltd., London, 1913, p. 873.

*563 [204] Condemning the attitude of a professor accused of making humiliating remarks to a colored student, a newspaper of Bahia wrote that even if there were no other reasons for condemning racial discrimination in Bahia, "there will always remain the great contribution that the black race has made to its civilization, to its development." The professor, in his reply, claimed that he too recognized the merit of "many colored people who have elevated themselves so much in society by their personal worth, the fruit of study and of work."

*563 829 Some authors, however, in the past and under the influence of a simplistic evolutionism, have expressed the conviction that the colored people represented a misfortune for Bahia, because of the "psychic inferiority" of the Negro. One of them regarded the black element as a "refractory element in civilization" and

[SALVADOR]

/28 cont./

829 moreover, that, in certain cases, they are applied to persons who
* 563 actually strive to compensate for their feeling of inferiority by an affected manner of speaking and behavior.

/29/ Color Is a Mere Accident

The expression "black with a white soul" is used as much in Bahia as in the rest of the world, wherever it is believed that a Black, in order to be good, must necessarily possess the qualities of the White. It is most significant that such a way of thinking finds followers even among colored people. The mother, morena, [1:5] of one of our informants said that "the Black is black inside and out," and that if she were to marry again she would certainly never marry a man as dark as her husband. In a publication in which, 829 20 years ago, an association of Blacks commemorated the first * 563 centenary of its founding, one can read on the first page: "If we • 538 examine the archives of the society or if we leaf through its books, [577] we shall see there this contrast: black men having a very high ideal, perfect characters, irreproachable sentiments, and, above all, very noble aspirations."

There are also, fortunately, those who deny the intellectual and moral inferiority of the Black. In an article appended to the statutes of another organization of colored people, it is explained that "what happens is that the Black, because he is poor, lacks the necessary tranquillity to which, for him as for the white man, is owed intellectual progress, the source of comfort and joy. Moreover, always tortured by the injustice that pursues him, he should have become a rebel rather than the efficient collaborator that he is, an element in the continuous ascent and moral and intellectual improvement of the Brazilian population." There is in these judgments, along with a complaint, the refutation of the theory of the innate mental inferiority of the black and the idea that there is a contrast between the dark color of the skin and noble aspirations.

[SALVADOR]

/62 cont./

*563 545 533 [204] society, has brought to Bahia the most famous musicians of our time. The newspapers and journals report the concerts that the white and colored artists give in the theaters and halls of the most important organizations of the city, and publish their /63/ pictures as well as the comments that the art critics make on the subject.

*563 814 538 [532] [346] In the plastic arts, colored persons have not played an important role, although in the past they have produced some painters and sculptors of some renown whose works can be viewed in the most beautiful baroque churches of the city. These works are mentioned in the books on the art of Bahia, especially in those of a black or dark mulatto writer, Manoel Querino, son of slaves, whose studies on art, folklore, and Afro-Brazilian ethnography have made him famous. The first centenary of the birth of this intellectual, who in his biographies of numerous artists of Bahia only very rarely indicated their type, was solemnly commemorated in Bahia, as well as in Rio de Janeiro, at the same time that two other folklorists, who were white, one of whom was from Bahia, were honored.

*563 873 [875] In the school of fine arts of the local university, students of all types have acquired university degrees in architecture, painting, drawing, and sculpture; its teaching staff at present includes at least three mulattoes, two of whom are quite dark. Some informants say, however, that one painter, because of his color, was not counted for a prize offered by the school, consisting of a journey outside the State. This incident, which happened some tens of years ago, is interpreted in different ways by our informants.

*563 545 [873] In the theater, colored persons (at least those who are very dark) do not have great possibilities, and one often hears this complaint expressed. The Blacks, says one young informant, never get beyond the stage of laborer or carpenter in our theaters; even for the roles of Blacks, disguised Whites are preferred. On the other hand, a morena amateur actress states that white women refuse to play the parts of Bahians and that they entrust these parts to colored girls. It is also somewhat difficult to present white and colored actors together on the same stage, even in the theatrical

[SALVADOR]

/84/

*563 554 463

Career chosen	Whites		Mulattoes		Blacks	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Prestige careers (1)	80	62.50	33	46.80	44	15.70
Modest careers (2)	20	37.50	67	53.20	56	84.30

1. Merchant, civil engineer, physician, farmer /Fr. fermier/, accountant /Fr. comptable/, woman doctor, dentist, lawyer, engineer (woman), accountant /Fr. comptable/, pianist, official, professor.

2. Mechanic, salesman, printer, chauffeur, tailor, bookkeeper /Fr. comptable/, saleswoman, typist, dressmaker.

---

*563 555 One may make two observations on the subject of these replies. The first is that schoolchildren of modest families, between 12 and 15 years of age, mulatto as well as black, manifest the intention of adopting prestige careers in which Whites predominate. This may denote their desire to escape situations socially and economically inferior; it may also express their faith in the possibility they have of realizing these aspirations, a possibility that would be refused them in a society with racial discrimination. The second observation is that the white persons to whom these replies were shown manifested neither surprise nor reprobation concerning the aspirations of colored children.

*563 555 ● 538 In Brazilian folklore there is an anecdote that proves how much Bahia is known as a place where Blacks can acquire status by means of the liberal professions. It is said that a Black, very well dressed, arrived in the State of Ceara and the first person he met called him "doctor." Amazed to see that his rank had been guessed, the Black asked how his interlocutor could know that he was a graduate. And the reply was very clear: "A Black so well dressed can only be a servant among the English or a doctor in Bahia."

5: Azevedo--112 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

The Intellectual Life

*563 554 538 The reputation of an intellectual is independent of his racial "quality." The biographies of illustrious Bahians do not mention their racial affiliation, an omission that constitutes a serious handicap for those who study the contribution of colored men to science, to letters, and to the arts of our city. With the exception of the case, for example, of an article on "Men of black color in the history of Bahia" (1),

[113]

1. "Os Homens de côr preta na Historia da Bahia," by M. Querino, in Revista do Institute Geographico o Historico da Bahia, Vol. 48, 1923, p. 353 (38 brief biographies).

or some short studies of the same kind, it is practically impossible, unless one refers to other sources, to find out who the colored men who have distinguished themselves by their talent have been (2).

[113]

2. M. Querino, As artes na Bahia e Artistas Bahianos /The Arts in Bahia and Bahian Artists/; S. Bocanero Junior, O Teatro na Bahia, 1812-1912, Bahia, 1915; Gonçalo Moniz S. Aragao, A Medicina na Bahia, Diário Oficial, ed. do Centenario, 1923; C. Torres, Vultos, fatos e coisas da Bahia /Faces, Things, and Affairs of Bahia/, Bahia, 1951; and others.

Thus, several months ago, in celebrating the first centenary of the birth of Manoel Querino, who was a mulatto of dark complexion, a newspaper described him as "a poor and artistic Bahian who distinguished himself as a traditionalist historian, folklorist, ethnographer, sociologist, educator and 'leader' /quoted in English/ of the working class to which he belonged and which he tried to elevate."

5: Azevedo--113 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

/85 cont./

* 563 554 571 Among the intellectuals of whom Bahia is proud and who are included among its great names, there are some who are very dark. One of them, speaking of the mixture of races, says that "the descendants of the crossings mentioned are to be found in Brazil in all social classes, in all professions, even the most intellectual" (3).

[113]

3. Viuva J. Moreina, "Juliano Moreina e o problema do negro mestiço no Brasil /Juliano Moreina and the problem of the Negro mestizo in Brazil/," in Novos estudos afro-brasileiros /Recent Afro-Brazilian Studies/, G. Freyre and others, Rio de Janeiro, 1937.

The colored intellectuals not only do not form a separate group, but are judged and classed solely according to their talent and their works, and in scientific and literary associations occupy positions corresponding to their importance. When, in 1923, [527] the first centenary of the struggles for national independence in the territory of Bahia was commemorated, a very well-known photographer in the city, in collaboration with a historian and professor of the university, put together a large picture with the portraits of the Bahian intellectuals who at that time enjoyed the greatest renown: members of parliament, jurists, poets, prose writers, sacred orators, biologists, physicians, musicians, engineers, folklorists, educators, journalists, linguists of both sexes. Among the 79 intellectuals represented, one counted one cabôclo and 20 morenos and pardos, some of them quite /86/ pigmented. One of the four portraits most in view in the upper part of this composition was that of a dark mulatto, already mentioned above as a historian, engineer, and linguist; his picture was placed in the same port as that of Ruy Barbosa, a famous jurist and leader, who is considered "the greatest of Brazilians." The portraits of other métis appeared among those of numerous white intellectuals.

• [538] Among the recently published 100 biographies of the most notable Bahians of the period that extends from 1564 to 1925, there are 12

5: Azevedo--114 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

/86 cont./

*563 554 571 538 métis celebrated as poets, jurists, linguists, physicians, and preachers, including a son of slaves, who, in the second half of the last century, because of his origin, had great difficulty in being accepted in a faculty of law of his country (1).

[113] 1. A. Loureiro Souza, Bahianos Ilustres, 1564-1925, Bahia, 1949.

All this testifies to the fact that intellectuals are judged according to the standards that apply to the whole of society, without color being taken into account. The literary critics, for example, affirm that the greatest living Bahian poet is a dark pardo and that a moreno is one of the best poets Bahia has had in recent decades. Moreover, the most listened-to literary and artistic critic, who died a few years ago, was a branqueado (whitened) mulatto, who exerted a great influence on the local intellectual life. When, on the occasion of the 350th anniversary of the [527] Lusitanian poet Camoens, the Portuguese colony celebrated Race Day, it was a dark mulatto who, in the name of Brazilians, gave the address of welcome to the Portuguese, while a celebrated sacred orator took the floor for the latter; in 1949, when the fourth centenary of the founding of the city was commemorated, the government of the State, in posthumous homage to this same mulatto intellectual, published one of his remaining unpublished historical works (2).

[113] 2. Teodoro Sampaio, Historia de Fundaçao da Cidade do Salvador /History of the Founding of the City of Salvador/, edited by the Secretaria do Educaçao e Sáude, Bahia, 1949.

*563 554 571 The favorable position given colored people in the intellectual milieus is reflected in certain comments that we gathered in the course of our investigation on colored people. One of them made the following remark: "Colored people owe much to Whites, it is they who praise the Negroes of merit and who make known their name and their works." Another assured us that "among intellectuals there was no color prejudice."

[SALVADOR]

/86 cont./

* 563 814 571 The Academy of Letters of Bahia, an institution that groups Bahian intellectuals of the greatest renown, includes among its 41 founders eight mulattoes of the most varied shades of skin. One of them, an educator of repute, became a /87/ national celebrity for his works on Portuguese grammar and for the polemic on linguistic problems that he carried on with his old disciple Ruy Barbosa. Two mulattoes -- a very distinguished professor of medicine and another, both an engineer and historian -- were corresponding members of this famous association. Since its founding in 1917, the Academy has counted among its members 15 morenos and mulattoes; among them are names of which Bahia is justly proud. The group of poets and prose writers who, [538] under the influence of symbolism, were originally part of an important literary movement was made up in large part of colored men.

/88/ Recreational Clubs

* 563 575 The social and recreational clubs are the sector where admittance is the most difficult for persons of very dark color, if one is to believe the majority of informants. Some of them even declare that the obstacles that stand in the way of their entry into such organizations are due both to color prejudices and to the fact that these associations are dominated by the old families who resist the admission of members not belonging to their social and economic [565] group. It seems, however, that even in the very select clubs of Bahia there are fissures in the class barriers: none of these clubs can keep itself strictly closed nor strictly aristocratic either from the point of view of the filiation of its members to the old families or from that of their color. And this so much the more because the founder groups permitted, not only finos Whites, but persons "socially white" or "white in color" (brancas na côr).